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MEETING: 15 AUGUST 1968

NEW YORK

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## NOTE

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 15 August 1968, at 3 p.m.

*President:* Mr. João Augusto DE ARAUJO CASTRO  
(Brazil).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Algeria, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Hungary, India, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1439/Rev.2)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. The situation in the Middle East:
  - (a) Letter dated 5 June 1968 from the Permanent Representative of Jordan addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8616);
  - (b) Letter dated 5 June 1968 from the Permanent Representative of Israel addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8617);
  - (c) Letter dated 5 August 1968 from the Permanent Representative of Jordan addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8721);
  - (d) Letter dated 5 August 1968 from the Permanent Representative of Israel addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8724).

### Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: I wish to apologize for the delay in opening the present meeting. I am sure, however, that we all understand that this delay was due to the fact that the members of the Council felt it necessary to engage in consultations on this very question.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### The situation in the Middle East:

- (a) Letter dated 5 June 1968 from the Permanent Representative of Jordan addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8616);
- (b) Letter dated 5 June 1968 from the Permanent Representative of Israel addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8617);
- (c) Letter dated 5 August 1968 from the Permanent Representative of Jordan addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8721);
- (d) Letter dated 5 August 1968 from the Permanent Representative of Israel addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8724)

2. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions previously taken by the Security Council, I propose to invite the representatives of Jordan, Israel, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Syria and Saudi Arabia to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. M. El-Farra (Jordan) and Mr. Y. Tekoah (Israel) took places at the Security Council table, and Mr. M. El Kony (United Arab Republic), Mr. A. Pachachi (Iraq), Mr. G. Tomeh (Syria) and Mr. J. Baroody (Saudi Arabia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. Lij Endalkachew MAKONNEN (Ethiopia): Mr. President, I wish first of all to express to you my congratulations and best wishes on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council.

4. Your distinguished career in your country's national and international service is too well known to require further repetition. Suffice it for me to join my other colleagues in expressing admiration and gratitude for the manner in which you have so ably conducted our business, so soon after you joined our ranks. This is indeed an accomplishment which bears clear testimony to your personal ability and experience and is also proof of the human and intellectual resourcefulness of your great country and of the great Latin American continent of which your country forms so vital a part.

5. To your predecessor in office, my good friend and colleague Ambassador Bouattoura, I can only express my heartfelt apology that the call of duty coupled perhaps with the irresistible pressure of homesickness caused my absence from New York during a month when I would have wished to stand by his side, as ever. There were many who predicted that July would be a long and hot month for the Security Council. Those who had such expectations must have surely been disappointed; for I understand from those of my colleagues who remained behind that Ambassador Bouattoura kept everything cool and quiet during the month of July. I do not consider this to have been solely coincidental. I know Ambassador Bouattoura well enough and closely enough to testify that essentially he is a man of peace and tranquillity and only becomes lion-hearted when he feels that his beliefs and principles are being threatened or tampered with. I want to seize this opportunity to renew to him the assurances of my ever faithful friendship and my very best wishes for his continued success in his United Nations post.

6. Since this is the first time that I speak in the Council after the appointment of our new colleague, Ambassador

George Ball, I want to extend to him the hand of welcome and friendship, looking forward to the continuation of the same happy and fruitful co-operation that I have always had the honour to maintain with his delegation, more particularly with his distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Arthur Goldberg.

7. I likewise extend a warm welcome to the new Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, assuring him of my delegation's full co-operation in his new and responsible task.

8. When I turn to the specific subject of our present agenda, I have very little to add to what has already been eloquently expressed by my colleagues, except perhaps to reiterate the grave anxiety and disquietude of my Government over the fact that on the problem of the Middle East, of which the incidents that we are debating today are only one part, the Council and indeed the United Nations itself seems to be bogged down in a dangerous exercise of marking time on a decision made already ten months ago.

9. It is sad to contemplate that since we adopted our unanimous resolution of last November [242 (1967)], no appreciable progress has in fact been made, and that the situation remains as dangerously deadlocked as—if not evermore dangerously stalemated than—we left it in November, with every glimmer of hope for peaceful settlement being suddenly dashed by repeated hostility and conflict in one or another sector of the cease-fire.

10. To say that no appreciable progress has been made since November is certainly not to criticize those who have been engaged in a peace-keeping effort on our behalf. The dedication of the Secretary-General to the cause of peace in that region is only too well known and, likewise, the untiring and skilful effort of Ambassador Jarring is universally admired and recognized. And yet, despite these efforts, and in spite of a unanimous decision taken ten months ago by the Security Council, the situation remains as dangerous as ever with the prospect of another conflict beginning to loom large in the background.

11. This, I submit, is a very serious prospect to which we should give our full and undivided attention. Otherwise we run the risk of making the same historical error made during the time preceding the conflict of June 1967—the error of leaving things to drift towards tension, confrontation and final conflict.

12. The deplorable and repeated incidents that we have debated here in the Council for the last ten months are the obvious and inevitable consequences of the present confrontation and deadlock, which will continue to cause the same violent actions and counter-actions leading to more tension, more bitterness, more conflict and eventual conflagration. The only way whereby we can hope to get out of this vicious circle of violence and conflict is to see to it that our decision of November, containing as it does a balanced provision of mutual requirements and obligations, is faithfully and effectively acted upon, so that through the perhaps slow but sure process of peace-making the wounds of the last two decades will begin to heal, and we will, we hope, see the turning of the tide from the present one of hatred and bitterness.

13. I do not, of course, underestimate the difficulties of the problems with which we are faced. We are dealing with deep-rooted problems with a long history and background of conflict and bloodshed. The stain of blood is always the most difficult to erase.

14. But I am convinced, as is my Government, that the answer does not lie in more conflict and more bloodshed. The answer, and the historic challenge, lies in working for a just and lasting settlement which will ensure mutual tolerance leading in time to honourable coexistence and co-operation between all of the peoples of the Middle Eastern region.

15. Needless to say, we do not have to seek new initiatives in this regard. The unanimous decision of November last is a good beginning and a good basis for such a lasting and just settlement. What we seem to lack is the unanimous will to see this decision through. We should, each and every one of us, make it our urgent duty fully to support the effort of the Secretary-General and of his Special Representative in the area. We should encourage and help them follow up every sign of hope and every gesture of conciliation that may appear on the horizon. We should exert our influence on the parties concerned faithfully to co-operate in the peaceful settlement of all disputes in accordance with the principles and provisions of resolution 242 (1967). The special role and responsibility of the Permanent Members in this peace-making effort is too obvious to require detailed elaboration on my part.

16. In the meantime it is, of course, our clear duty to call for the strictest observance of the cease-fire on the part of all concerned and to censure all violations of the cease-fire. The cease-fire must be maintained and respected if an atmosphere is to be created that will be conducive to a peaceful settlement. We should, therefore, insist on full respect for the cease-fire provisions and should prevent all actions that violate these provisions, making it very clear that continued violation of the cease-fire will unavoidably call for Council action under the relevant chapter of the United Nations Charter.

17. It is with these considerations in mind that my delegation voted for resolution 248 (1968) of 24 March 1968. It will be recalled that in that resolution we deplored the loss of life and heavy damage to property. We condemned the military action of reprisal launched by Israel in violation of the cease-fire; and, likewise, we deplored all other violations of the cease-fire and declared that such actions of military reprisal and other grave violations of the cease-fire could not be tolerated.

18. My delegation, of course, stands by the position it took with regard to the situation in March, which appears to us to be identical with the situation that the Council is faced with today. We continue to maintain the same position with regard to the recent actions of military reprisal undertaken by the armed forces of Israel, and are prepared to join the membership of the Council in censuring those actions, just as we have been prepared strongly to censure any and all such violations of the cease-fire in the past.

19. While thus willing and ready to join other members of the Council in providing these stop-gap measures for

maintaining the cease-fire as a necessary interim arrangement, we cannot help repeating again and again that the final and effective solution of the grave problem that plagues the Middle East today lies in the November resolution of this Council. I submit that it is for the November resolution and for the peace effort based on it that the Security Council should urgently reserve the major part of its attention and effort so that the cause of peace in the Middle East may be saved in time and the area be thus spared from yet another tragedy of war and destruction.

20. If we continue to fail to do this at this already late hour, we shall stand accused before history of having neglected our duty as Council members and of having chosen instead to be the helpless spectators of a serious situation which on all evidence must be described as one of a war in the making.

21. The PRESIDENT: I wish to thank the representative of Ethiopia for his kind and generous words in my regard.

22. The representative of Israel has asked to be allowed to speak, and I now call upon him.

23. Mr. TEKOA (Israel): The Security Council has been discussing for ten days the situation resulting from Jordanian acts of aggression and Israel's defence action. For ten days we have heard in the Council Jordan and other Arab States proclaim that Israel's defence measures were unjustified but that Arab warfare against Israel will continue unabated.

24. In fact, attacks from Jordanian territory have continued; they are contributing to a further deterioration of the situation; they are endangering peace and obstructing efforts towards peaceful agreement.

25. On 5 August, mortar and small arms fire was opened from Jordanian military positions on the Israeli villages of Yardenia and Beit Yosef in the Beit She'an valley. Later that day, the area of the Neve Ur village was shelled.

26. Attacks from Jordanian military positions occurred again on 6, 7, 8, 12, 13 August, and yesterday, 14 August. In these almost daily attacks the main targets were, as in the past, Israeli villages in the Beit She'an valley. The Jordanian military positions fired on them with artillery, mortars, machine-guns and small arms. These military attacks were directed also against Israeli vehicles travelling along the border.

27. Yesterday raiders from Jordan opened bazooka fire on a hut near the Israeli village of Ein-Yahav in the Arava area. A few hours later a tractor was blown up by a mine laid on a track north-east of the village.

28. Our deliberations are continuing. In the meantime, however, the intransigent attitudes of the Arab Governments and their refusal, thus far, to terminate attacks from their territory against Israel confront the area with the alternatives of an immediate cessation of Arab warfare and faithful observance of the cease-fire, and of a most dangerous aggravation of the situation.

29. The Arab representatives and their supporters have suggested that the Council address itself to the Israel

defence actions and provide immunity for Arab acts of aggression. It is undoubtedly evident to all that the world will not accept such a miscarriage of justice. Israel, in the exercise of its sovereign rights under the Charter of the United Nations, will not accept it.

30. At our last meeting, the representative of Jordan tried to question the generally-known direct involvement of his Government, as well as of other Arab Governments, in the attacks carried out against Israel from Jordanian territory.

31. After months of public discussion on terror warfare, with Jordanian statesmen commenting time and again on the *fedayeen* operations from Jordan, with Arab Governments proclaiming their support for this method of war against Israel, with conferences of terror organizations held in the open in Amman and Cairo, under governmental auspices, with world-wide publicity being given to the commandos, including eye-witness accounts, personal interviews, television films showing the training of the raiders, the location of their bases, the co-operation between them and the Jordanian army, with Arab governmental radio stations broadcasting communiqués of the terror organizations—after all this, the Jordanian representative finds it possible to veil himself in innocence and declare that his Government has no knowledge of these activities and their true character.

32. In addition to the ample information already before the Council, I should like to draw attention to the following facts which throw additional light on the nature of terror warfare and direct governmental responsibility for it.

33. Despite the Jordanian representative's protestations that "the Iraqi army units are in Jordan for defensive purposes" [*1438th meeting, para. 15*], Iraqi participation in terror warfare has at no time been a matter of mere hearsay.

34. A report from Beirut published in the *Daily Telegraph* of 8 August 1968 states: "An Iraqi brigade of about 8,000 men has been maintained in Jordan since the eve of last year's June war with Israel . . . it provides Arab commando groups with supplies, weapons, transport and training facilities."

35. The *Christian Science Monitor* writes, on 7 June 1968:

"Arab guerrilla groups are training extensively to mount new attacks against the Israelis. *Monitor* correspondent John K. Cooley recently witnessed this training at camps in Jordan . . . The patrol leader said he was formerly a lieutenant in the Iraqi army."

36. In addition to the Iraqi officer killed on 4 August in the terror commando camp at Salt, Lieutenant-Colonel Abd el-Majid of the Iraqi battalion No. 421 was killed in the commando camp of Karameh. A number of soldiers from this Iraqi battalion were captured on raids against Israel. They are Second Lieutenant Adnan Mansur, Corporal Rubhi Mohamad Abdallah Burkaz and Abd al-Aziz Mahmud Abu Shama. Among members of other regular Arab armies captured in the course of terror attacks on

Israel are the following: from Egyptian battalion No. 322: Lieutenant Khaled al-Deeb Abdu Mahmud and Lieutenant Mohamad Ashur Amer Ahmad Hasan, who are now prisoners in Israel; from Syrian battalion No. 413: Second Lieutenant Mohamed Abel al-Huseiz abd al-Hari, who is in Israeli hands.

37. The Jordanian representative also disclaimed any knowledge of the existence in Amman of terror commando recruitment offices. I think the following information may be of assistance. The recruitment office of El-Fatah is situated in Amman in the refugee camp Husein, in Jabel Husein, near the mosque. The P.L.O. recruitment office in Amman is on Salt Street. The office contains nine rooms. The recruitment office of the el-Jabha terror organization is located in Wadi-Seri Street, near the Central Post Office. Finally, the recruitment offices of the Egyptian terror commando battalion are at Jabel Amman, not far from the Intercontinental Hotel. The officer-in-charge is Major Sami Dahana.

38. Iraqi Colonel Mohamad Sarsuf serves as liaison officer between the Government of Iraq and the terror organizations.

39. The Egyptian newspaper *Aakhar Saa* published on 6 June 1968 the following report from Amman by Wajid Kandil:

"From the moment I entered Amman I had the feeling that something unusual was going on among the seven hills on which the capital of Jordan is situated. After a few hours I noticed a certain activity between the residence of the Iraqi Ambassador and the P.L.O. bureau and the headquarters of El-Fatah. Cars went time and again between Amman and the positions of the *fedayeen*. Meetings were held between Hamudah and other members of the organization and between Yasser Arafat and the commandos of El-Fatah."

40. Some sensitivity has been displayed at the Council table by Arab representatives and certain other representatives with regard to the terms "terrorism" and "terrorists". Some prefer to regard those who go out on missions to murder innocent villagers and blow up tractors in the field as thugs and killers and cowards who shame those that glorify them and disgrace the military uniform they frequently wear.

41. However, the term "terrorism" is a generally-recognized description of this type of activity. It is a term of long standing in the United Nations.

42. In the Secretary-General's report to the Security Council on 19 May 1967 we read:

"A number of factors serve to aggravate the situation to an unusual degree, increasing tension and danger.

"El-Fatah activities, consisting of terrorism and sabotage, are a major factor in that they provoke strong reactions in Israel by the Government and population alike. Some recent incidents of this type have seemed to indicate a new level of organization and training of those

who participate in these actions." [S/7896, paras. 6 and 7.]

43. The situation in the Middle East is grave. It is recognized by all that it is likely to become even graver unless warfare against Israel from Jordanian territory ceases and Jordan ensures the strict observance of the cease-fire. This is the crux of the problem. The prospects of peace in the area depend on this situation being dealt with immediately, effectively and equitably.

44. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Jordan, who wishes to exercise the right of reply.

45. Mr. EL-FARRA (Jordan): It was not my intention to take the floor this afternoon, but when I hear distortions at every single meeting I find myself compelled to answer. Mr. Tekoah deemed it fitting for about the tenth time during the deliberations on this item to revert to the very same arguments, allegations and distortions. I have repeatedly answered them, but, if his intention is to mislead world public opinion through this Council, if he is misusing his right or privilege in order to carry out a campaign of distortion to the world, I think I should keep the record straight.

46. Mr. Tekoah once again referred to resistance and he continued to call it acts of organized terrorism. I have said in the past and I say again that this organized resistance is not terrorism; it is nothing but a popular uprising against Israeli occupation, against continued Israeli aggression, against the presence of Israeli forces in Sinai, in Gaza, on the west bank, in the Syrian Golan. I have said before and I say again that it is only legitimate, only natural, only a God-given right for the people to resist foreign occupation. It was not invented by the Palestinians. Almost every single member of this Council has resisted one form of occupation or another. I cited the great country of Mr. Malik: the Soviet Union. I said that it lost twenty million people resisting nazism. I referred to France. I referred to other members in Europe and I said, "Resistance is the answer to foreign occupation." When I said it was a legitimate war of liberation, I quoted Mr. Dayan, Mr. Tekoah's Minister of Defence. He also called it a war of liberation. Again he could not resist admitting that the people were resisting, from within, a foreign invader coming from outside. Mr. Tekoah cannot come before the Council and speak about resistance before they get out of what they occupied in our area through aggression. I do not think that Mr. Tekoah, who represents a country which continues bulldozing homes and shrines of worship in Jerusalem, is coming to the Council with clean hands. I do not think that Mr. Tekoah, who represents a country which continues arbitrarily to arrest people, put them in gaol and subject them to torture, is in a position to come here and preach about values.

47. Mr. Tekoah referred to certain evidence he received. This time he did not say that it was confidential information. Last time he quoted something from the press and called it confidential information. He injected many pieces of information created by his wide imagination and called it confidential information. This time he did not do so. He referred to certain information received, according to him,

by Israel from certain individuals. We deny the statements which the Israelis have fabricated. The real way to find out the truth is very simple. In accordance with Security Council resolution 237 (1967) we asked our most able and dedicated Secretary-General to send his representative to the area to find out, to meet the people, to visit the prisons, to visit the Gaza Strip, to see the west bank, to see Jerusalem, to see the Holy Places which were facing all kinds of Israeli aggression and to come and report to the Council. The Secretary-General's report is now before the Council. It states that Mr. Tekoah's Government is not permitting the representative to go to Israel. It says that they are injecting a foreign substance not related to resolution 237 (1967), in order to avoid receiving that representative, in order to be able to come here and continue fabricating and distorting. If you want the truth, the Special Representative is the man to go and seek the truth, bring it to the Council and face Mr. Tekoah and his fabrications with a clear statement about what is going on in the area. I think there is something called an estoppel. He is estopped from raising any question of this kind when they are refusing to permit the representative of the Secretary-General to go there on a fact-finding mission.

48. Mr. Tekoah referred to Iraqi officers with the resistance movement. I categorically deny the presence of any Iraqi officer working with the people who are in Jordan and who are in the west bank. I deny this because we have no information whatsoever about these allegations. If Mr. Tekoah is trying to divert the attention of the Council from the real issues to some pieces of information not related at all to the crime committed against Salt, not related at all to the crime committed against Irbid, I hope that the Council will not take him seriously.

49. We are now reaching the end of our deliberations. We have been listening to the statements. You have heard the parties time and again. You have been kind and patient, and I think we have reached the stage where a decision is needed. We expect from the Security Council not a routine resolution, not a decision to be added to the others, not only condemnation of Israel. We expect the Security Council to go a step further. We expect the Council to give us an adequate remedy which would put an end to Israeli acts of aggression, to Israeli challenges of the Council and to grave Israeli violations. Otherwise there will be more complications and further deterioration in the area. I hope the Council will ponder these very important points.

50. We have heard a great deal of the word "balance". There is no balance when it comes to a crime committed against Jordan by a Member State of the United Nations, created by the United Nations. There is no equity in any attempt to find what used to be called an even-handed approach or a balance between the victim and the aggressor. There should be no balance when it comes to naked aggression. On the question of Karameh we heard something about an even-handed approach. Earlier, when Israel was created, we heard a great deal about a balance in arms between the whole of the Arab States and Israel. What happened on 5 June is an answer to the question of the so-called balance of armaments. I hope that in this clear-cut case, on this glaring act of aggression, the Council will take

an effective measure and not simply adopt a routine resolution.

51. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Israel.

52. Mr. TEKOAH (Israel): I do not believe that the Jordanian representative's attempt to ignore simple facts deserves a reply. I should like to make only a brief comment, a clarification on one point.

53. Not only the Special Representative of the Secretary-General but even the Jordanian representative himself are most welcome to come to Israel. It is the Arab Governments which at present bar the Special Representative from investigating, in accordance with Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the oppression, discrimination and torture to which Jews in Arab States are being subjected. We hope that they will modify their attitude and permit the representative of the Secretary-General to come to the Middle East.

54. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): We have listened very attentively to the statement made by the representative of Ethiopia. This is the fifteenth member of the Security Council to condemn the new acts of aggression committed by Israel under the pretext of so-called retaliatory measures. This is but one more confirmation of the conclusion drawn by the Soviet delegation at one of the preceding meetings to the effect that none of the Security Council members, even among Israel's sympathizers, has dared to justify these new acts of Israeli aggression.

55. The representative of Israel, endlessly citing quotations from newspapers all over the world, from Norway to Brazil, from the United Kingdom to Lebanon and Syria, is trying to persuade the Security Council of one thing: that the Security Council should forbid the population of the territories occupied by the Israeli soldiers to hate the occupiers. Yet it is perfectly obvious that, no matter what efforts the representative of Israel may make here, no matter how eloquently he may speak here, or how much he may present quotations from foreign newspapers, it is impossible to persuade anyone that the Security Council is able and has a right to forbid the population of the occupied Arab territories to hate the aggressor and occupier. This is a waste of time. There is an excellent Japanese proverb that says: it's like catching a fish on a tree, that is, engaging in a futile task. The representative of Israel is engaging here in precisely such a futile task as catching fish on trees in trying to convince the members of the Council, and the Council as a whole, that the population of the occupied Arab territories should be deprived of the right to hate the aggressor, to hate the occupiers. Therefore, the best way to convince the Israeli aggressor of the futility of this activity would be to continue to remind him (as many members of the Security Council have done) that the best course would be the implementation of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 and the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories seized by Israel. That is the solution of the problem. There will then be no need for any complaints on Israel's part that the population of the occupied territories hates the occupier and aggressor.

56. The PRESIDENT: I now recognize the representative of Jordan who has asked for the floor in exercise of his right of reply.

57. Mr. EL-FARRA (Jordan): Going back again to the reference to the representative of the Secretary-General, who was refused admission by Israel, Mr. Tekoah referred to the Jews in the Arab States. I think that they are citizens of the Arab States in the same way as they are here in the United States, the host country, or in the Soviet Union or in France. I do not think that in its resolution 237 (1967) the Security Council made any reference whatever to Jews other than to the inhabitants who were subjected to the Israeli aggression. The Security Council has said in resolution 237 (1967) that it

*"Calls upon the Government of Israel to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the areas where military operations have taken place . . ."*

58. There is no reference whatsoever to any other people. But this was injected by Mr. Tekoah and his Government, not only to find justification for covering up their crimes in the occupied areas, but also to find a way to mislead world public opinion and the Security Council.

59. We shall have an opportunity in this Council, I hope, to examine this report and this resolution, and take action on the implementation of this resolution, guided by the valuable material in this report.

60. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Israel who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

61. Mr. TEKOA (Israel): I regret very much that the Soviet representative found it necessary to intervene again in our debate. Yet, what would a Security Council meeting be without a harangue from him against Israel? I should only like to say this. The Soviet Union bears a heavy responsibility for Arab aggression.

62. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

63. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(translated from Russian)*: The meeting of the Security Council is discussing the question of Israel's acts of aggression against Jordan, not the Soviet Union and its activities. I therefore ask the President to be guided by the decision taken by one of his predecessors, to the effect that the representative of Israel should concern himself with the concrete problems before us and should not discuss the action and activities of members of the Security Council.

64. The PRESIDENT: Regarding the point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union, I should like to recall my previous remarks on the question of the extent to which we should interpret the present rules as to whether they would or would not permit certain remarks to be made about the point under consideration. Anyhow, I would appeal to the representative of Israel to confine his remarks, to the extent possible, to the point under consideration, without prejudice, of course, to his right of reply.

65. I ask the representative of Israel to proceed.

66. Mr. TEKOA (Israel): I should only like to say this: the Soviet Union bears in the Middle East heavy responsibility for Arab aggression which led to the June 1967 hostilities. The Soviet Government, by supporting now the terror warfare against Israel, takes upon itself . . .

67. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(translated from Russian)*: Point of order.

68. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

69. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(translated from Russian)*: I request that the representative of Israel be called to order and be asked not to concern himself with matters which are not under discussion here.

70. The PRESIDENT: I again appeal to the representative of Israel to confine his remarks, to the extent possible, to the actual consideration of the item we are seized of. This is a point on which I think the President should ask the co-operation and understanding of all members and all representatives.

71. I ask the representative of Israel to proceed.

72. Mr. TEKOA (Israel): By supporting now the terror warfare waged against Israel, his Government takes upon itself the responsibility for encouraging murder of Israeli people. It is a responsibility which will remain as a grim blot on Soviet history. We still wait for the Soviet Government to come to the Security Council . . .

73. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(translated from Russian)*: Point of order.

74. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

75. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(translated from Russian)*: The Israeli representative is treating your request and your ruling with disrespect. I request that this be noted, and that it be explained to the Israeli representative that he is not to refer to questions not pertaining to the matter at hand. The subject of the discussion is Israel's aggressive acts, and what he is saying here constitutes a complete falsehood and slander regarding the Soviet Union. I object to such behaviour by the Israeli representative at the Security Council meeting.

76. The PRESIDENT: Regarding the new point of order raised by the representative of the Soviet Union, I wish once more to ask for the full co-operation and understanding of all members and all representatives here. As I made explicit before, the President does not wish either to curtail discussion or to permit unduly extended remarks on items or subjects not under consideration. I find it difficult to state a ruling on that. I would prefer to know that I can count on the co-operation of all members and representatives so that a certain understanding might be reached here on the remarks. So I appeal again to the representative of Israel to confine his remarks to the item under consideration so that we can proceed with our business.



77. I ask the representative of Israel to proceed.

78. Mr. TEKOAH (Israel): Thank you, Mr. President, for allowing me to conclude my brief exercise of my right of reply to a calumny expressed here by the Soviet representative.

79. The world still waits for the Soviet Government to come to the Security Council and urge peace—a peaceful agreement between Israel and the Arab States, not the continuation of warfare and murder.

80. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Syria has asked to be allowed to speak.

81. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): During one of the meetings of the Council, the representative of Jordan requested that side issues should not be raised so as not to divert our attention from the main issue of which the Council is seized—namely, the complaint of Jordan against the Israeli attacks upon the two cities of es-Salt and Irbid, as a result of which a great number of innocent civilians were killed, hospitals destroyed, and ambulances carrying wounded people to the hospitals strafed by Israeli planes.

82. I apologize to the representative of Jordan for having asked to intervene at this time; but, listening time and again to the distortions of the representative of Israel and to his hypocritical intentions of peace, to the claims of his Government about peace, and in view of all that is taking place in the area, it really takes a great deal of patience, endurance and self-control to be able not to answer those allegations.

83. Time and again the representative of Israel has spoken of Arab terror and Arab sabotage. But there are recent things that I am sure everybody has witnessed and seen. Take this issue of *The New York Times* of 14 August 1968, which I have here in my hand. On page 45 there is an article entitled "Israel firmly settled on Syrian heights", and from El Kuneitra the correspondent writes:

"If anyone harbours doubts about Israel's plans for the Golan heights, those doubts can be dispelled by a drive through the rolling hills and prairie of the Syrian territory she occupies.

"Eight Israeli settlements have been established in the area in the 14 months since it was captured in the final offensive of the six-day war in June, 1967. Two more are under construction."

84. Then the article shows how tourists are taken over the Golan heights and shown how restaurants have been built there, in order to show them Israel's final establishment in a conquered, occupied territory. Supposing such a thing had happened during the Nazi occupation of any part of Europe and a newspaper published a similar article showing tourists in the occupied territory, what would the reaction have been then? Certainly one of disgust. And yet we have to come here and listen to the representative of Israel speaking about law but practising lawlessness.

85. Certainly, many representatives here have seen announcements in various magazines asking tourists to visit

Israel, some with captions reading as follows: "Visit Israel and see the Pyramids". And yet the representative of Israel comes here in order to give us lectures about law and respect for law.

86. I have here also the latest issue of *Le Monde*, dated 14 August. The following news item might be of interest to members of the Council in order to show the real intentions, the ugly reality of Israel. Here is what *Le Monde* reported under the title

"Israelis said to seek control of American-Saudi pipeline:" "13 August (AFP). Israel is reportedly demanding right of passage for Saudi oil through the pipeline which crosses the area of Syria occupied by Israeli forces. The Lebanese newspaper *Al-Watan* regards the recent statements made by the Vice-Premier of Israel concerning Israel's determination never to return the Golan Heights to Syria as concealing its intention to control the American-Saudi pipeline of the Tapline".<sup>1</sup>

87. If this is not sheer, unadulterated international piracy, what other name could be given to it? Yet the Israeli representative also spoke of the humanitarian resolutions, but he was told by a letter from the Secretary-General on 31 July 1968 that

"Under a strictly legal interpretation of Security Council resolution 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967 and General Assembly resolution 2252 (ES-V) of 4 July of 1967 it is clear that [*the humanitarian resolutions*] do not apply to minorities in the territories of even those States most directly concerned. Operative paragraph 1 of Security Council resolution 237 (1967) calls upon Israel to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the area where military operations have taken place. This paragraph applies without question to the area occupied by Israel since June 1967. Strictly interpreted it would not, however, apply to Arabs in, for example, Nazareth or Haifa, and of course could not apply to Jewish persons in Arab States since paragraph 1 is addressed solely to Israel" [*see S/8699*].

This is the legal interpretation of the Legal Department of the United Nations concerning the humanitarian resolutions.

88. I shall go no further except to say that despite all these clear-cut statements, Israel still continues to prevent the civilian population from returning to the occupied territories in Jordan, in the United Arab Republic and in Syria. Not only is this so, but the barbaric, inhuman torture of the civilian population remaining there continues up to the present time; the International Red Cross has been prevented from investigating the situation and, of course, Israel has also prevented the representative of the Secretary-General from going to the area, in implementation of the two humanitarian resolutions, to report on the situation there.

89. Yet the representative of Israel, whose authorities are torturing and killing prisoners and taking their blood to

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in French by the speaker.

hospitals, and committing all sorts of atrocities, comes here to lecture the Council about Arab terrorism and Arab sabotage, and about Israel's respect for law—as though at its very birth the State of Israel was not baptized in the blood and the property of the Arabs. There is hardly any Israeli village that does not up to this very time contain property legally owned by Arabs. And yet this man comes here to speak about law and preach about law.

90. I will not tax the patience of the Council any further. However, the representative of Israel always comes richly armed with quotations. This small book in my hand, published recently in France, is called *Contre Israël*, and the author is Pierre Démeron.<sup>2</sup> The dedication of the book is very significant, and I might add before quoting it that the author is a French citizen of the Jewish faith, a fact which explains the book's dedication. He says:

“To the Palestinians whom the West has for the past twenty years obliged to pay for its crimes against the Jews and its debts to them.

“To all the Arabs humiliated and injured through them and with them.

“To Frenchmen of Jewish origin who refuse to be accomplices to this ignominy.”<sup>3</sup>

91. A few pages further on, the author of this book quotes another great Jewish author and writer, a well-known professor in political and international affairs, Isaac Deutscher, also of the Jewish faith, who was once a supporter of Israel but who revolted against the atrocities of Israel after the war of 5 June. This is what Isaac Deutscher says in his recent interview with the *New Left Review* in the summer of 1967:

“Even the memory of Auschwitz must not exert pressure on us to induce us to support this evil cause. I speak as a Marxist of Jewish origin who has seen part of his family die in Auschwitz and who has relatives in Israel.”<sup>3</sup>

92. However, the greatest and perhaps the most telling story is that this aggressive war, this continuing piracy by Israel, is assessed in the following terms on pages 135 and 136 of this book:

“What is certain is that we have seldom seen a country, attacked as Israel claims to have been, quicker to take advantage of the aggression of which it has been the victim. Never has ‘aggression’ been so profitable or more rewarding. The six-day war cost Israel \$600 million. The fund-raising organized abroad brought it \$1 milliard. The country's economy, which had slowed down on the eve of the war, has been given a new impetus. The Israeli State Bank has confirmed this in a communiqué stating: ‘The balance-of-payments deficit, which was \$217 million at the end of 1966, has been cut to \$118 million and foreign currency reserves show an increase of \$80 million compared to 1966, reaching a total of \$700 million at the end of 1967’.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, Pauvert, 1968.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in French by the speaker.

“The Bank pointed out that this increase was partly due to substantial purchases of Israeli Treasury bonds abroad.

“Following its conquests, Israel has also been able to reduce its petroleum imports by about a third, with a saving of \$5 million since June, thanks to exploitation of the petroleum from Egyptian Sinai”!<sup>3</sup>

93. Those are not my words. They are the words of great writers, of well-known authorities, about acknowledgements by the representatives and leaders of the State of Israel of the benefits they received from the war. Up to this time the representative of Israel, a country born in terror and thirsty for Arab blood, has no right to come to the Council and speak about law or respect for law.

94. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Israel.

95. Mr. TEKOA (Israel): With every meeting my admiration grows more and more for the wondrous achievements of the Arab delegations in this Council in keeping their statements strictly to the matters on the agenda. How the Syrian representative succeeded in concluding his statement, which never ventured beyond the complaints before the Council, without a single interruption from any quarter is a mystery to me. Yet I admire him very much for his success.

96. The Syrian representative expressed dislike for quotations when they are made by me, but, with his permission, I should like to say that as I listened to him I was reminded of the words of Voltaire, who said: “My prayer to God is a very simple one: ‘O Lord, make my opponents ridiculous.’ God has granted it.” Indeed is it not ridiculous for a country, adamant and persistent more than any other in its belligerency against Israel, in flagrant violation of United Nations precepts, to speak of obligations under the Charter of the United Nations? Is it not absurd for a State that rejected the November Security Council resolution and refuses to admit the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Jarring, to preach international behaviour? Is it not grotesque for a Government to speak of human suffering when it persecutes Jews, exiles Christians, burns Christian schools and oppresses Kurds?

97. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Syria has asked for the floor in exercise of the right of reply.

98. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): Mr. President, again I thank you for allowing me to reply. I will do my very best to be brief—for it really requires a great deal of effort to be brief.

99. Mr. Tekoah quoted Voltaire, but I remember two lines by the great French poet, Alfred de Musset:

“*Quelle mâle gaieté si triste et si profonde  
Que lorsqu'on vient d'en rire on devrait en pleurer.*”

There is an equivalent Arab saying which could be translated as follows: “The most bitter of tragedies is one that makes you laugh.” He referred to the persecution of Jews and Christians in Syria. It is really a matter to laugh at, because it so happens that I am a Christian from Syria.

Not only that but, in all humility, I must say that I carry the Order of Commander of St. Paul and St. Peter and I belong to the Orthodox Church. That is enough to answer him, but perhaps it would be appropriate to remind him that of the martyrs who were hanged during the time when Syria was fighting for its freedom against occupiers a great many were Christian leaders from the Arab Christian community in Syria.

100. As for the Jews in Syria, I have already quoted the text of a letter addressed by the representative of the International Red Cross who came to Damascus and investigated very freely the situation of the Jews in Syria. This is what he said in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General of the Ministry of the Interior of Syria:

"I know that the Syrian Government provided protection for the Jewish quarter during the events of June 1967; I know that recently a Syrian citizen of the Mosaic religion suffering from cancer was transferred through the Government's good offices to a Beirut hospital. Furthermore, a statement broadcast by the Ministry of National

Education has again stressed that Syrian Jews are not enemies, but citizens like all others. I am even in a position to state that the businesses of Jewish citizens are still operating. All these facts are a tribute to you, and I feel bound to emphasize them."<sup>4</sup>

That is from a letter dated 1 June 1968 from the representative of the International Red Cross, operating freely in Syria.

101. I said that I would be very brief, and I shall not answer all the ridiculous allegations which only display a very inherent cynicism and sadism in the Zionist mentality of the speaker. He spoke about God. He should refrain from mentioning God, because for him to mention the word "God" is to desecrate that sacred word.

*The meeting rose at 6 p.m.*

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<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1968*, document S/8689.

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